

Motivations for the Tamil Brahmin migration to Kerala during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

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Abstract

One of the several communities that are a part of the diverse state of Kerala in South Western India is the Tamil Brahmin community, those of Tamil origin, belonging to the Brahmin caste in the Hindu caste hierarchy. Over a few centuries ago, a significant part of this population moved from the Tamil speaking belt to Kerala where they set up their unique culture and identified themselves as 'Palghat Brahmins'. Their movement happened against a backdrop of remarkable historical events, notably the fall of the Vijayanagar kingdom and the epoch-making landing of Vasco da Gama on the coast of Kerala, tracing the first ever sea-route from the West to India. While the migration of the Brahmins to Kerala is clearly documented, the motivations that spurred them on are less clearly established. Indeed, human migrations have happened from the earliest times due to causes ranging from natural and physical ones to economic and spiritual pursuits.

This paper explores the motivations for this particular migration, limiting itself to a study of the early migrations during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. With respect to the historical background of this particular time period, this essay utilizes available primary and secondary sources in an effort to link important historical and political events to the migration. Considering events such as the establishment of sea-trade between Kerala and western countries, the falling of the Vijayanagar kingdom and the political atmosphere of the Kerala region during the time, this essay seeks to draw conclusions regarding the true stimulus of the Tamil Brahmin migration to Kerala.

Based on this limited, albeit important area of study this investigation concludes that the primary motivation for the Tamil Brahmin migration to Kerala was to ride the crest of the economic boom created by the advent of the Portuguese traders. Secondly, the patronage extended by the Kerala kings to the Tamil Brahmin community allowed the Brahmins to preserve and propagate their unique vedic lifestyle. Finally, the safety and relative peace that Kerala offered from the insecurity in Tamil Nadu, especially at the fall of the Vijayanagar Kingdom initiated and spurred on the movement of the Tamil Brahmins to the Kerala state.

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I. Introduction - South India at the time of the Migration

Medieval South India of the 15th and 16th centuries witnessed the gradual collapse of the Vijayanagar kingdom, one of the most powerful kingdoms in the Deccan plateau. The incessant assaults of the Bahmini Muslim sultanate of the North slowly eroded the prosperity of the Vijayanagar kingdom, which until then was a safe barrier between the Muslim Sultanates of the North and the predominantly Hindu districts of the South. On the other hand, Kerala, a tiny strip of land in the South West of the country, was entering a renaissance age of prosperity. Boasting of cultural harmony amongst several diverse ethnicities, its wealth was further boosted by the arrival of the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, on the shores of Calicut in 1497 (Madan: 25). Historical records indicate that during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, a period considered as the 'Vasco da Gama era' (Stein: 73), a significant section of people, particularly of the Tamil Brahmin community, from the Tamil speaking belt of South India migrated to the Kerala region. These migrants are identified as a distinct group called 'Palghat Brahmins' or 'Palghat Iyers' because they passed through the Palghat Pass (Appendix B) in the Nilgiri mountain ranges and settled down in '*gramams*' or Brahmin villages, initially along the Palghat river in Kerala (keralaiyer). Human migrations have been recorded since the earliest times and the chief reasons for this search for a new permanent domicile have ranged from physical factors like famines and volcanoes to invasions and the betterment of economic prospects (Datta: 3). What were the motivations of the first Tamil Brahmin migration in the late 15th and early 16th centuries to Kerala?

Historically, Brahmins represented the ruling class and the priestly community who permeated all walks of life across the country, and wherever they went, they tried to sustain and nourish the native Vedic culture, language and customs to an extent that compels our attention (Gariyali). What was it that prompted members of this community that was high up in the pecking order of the caste system, to

move to an alien land? Were they seeking refuge in a relatively peaceful Kerala, away from the invading Bahminis? Or, were they invited by the Kerala kings to introduce the Vedic modes of worship and preside over temple rituals? Also, how far did the migrant Tamil Brahmins want to capitalize on the economic boom that happened in Kerala in the wake of the trade route discovered by Vasco da Gama?

II. The Scope of this Research Paper

The historical events following the fall of the Vijaynagar kingdom triggered the first migration of the Tamil Brahmin community and since then this community has continued to migrate to this day from their native lands in the southern parts of Indian to North Indian cities and further west to the United Kingdom and North America in modern times. It is beyond the scope of this study to comprehensively account and evaluate all the various reasons for the migrations. Therefore, this essay concerns itself only with the earliest migration during the late 15th and early 16th centuries. It also focuses only on the Brahmin community of Tamil Nadu, those of priest caste in the Hindu caste hierarchy, originally confined to the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu. It mainly considers major historical and political events of that time, including the fall of Vijayanagar and the arrival of Vasco da Gama, leading to the Tamil Brahmin movement to Kerala.

One of the important primary sources used is an inscription on a stone slab set up in front of the first Tamil temple, the *Visvanatha-Svamin* temple at Kalpatti village in Palghat, dating back to the 15th century, which accounts the magnanimity of the Raja of Palghat in providing the Brahmins with many facilities for constructing the temple. An essay on this temple, titled the Kalpatti Stone Inscription, by Professor S.V. Venkateswara of Kumbakonam College, provides all the relevant explanations of the details in the inscription. Another primary source is an excerpt from the work, *Gurumat* by Thunjath

Ezhuthachan, a famous Malayalam poet of the late 15th century, where he states explicitly that he gifted some property to migrant Tamil Brahmins.

Secondary sources used for this essay consist of history books and articles written by various authors on each of the specific historical events. Also used are books that discuss Kerala's history, particularly during the focused time periods. Titles include *Life and travels of Vasco da Gama*, *Vijayanagara, Malabar and the Portuguese*, *Sakthan Thampuram*, *The Discovery of India* and *History and Culture of the Indian people*. Although these general works on Indian History do not focus particularly on the Tamil Brahmin community, their value lies in their ability to address the political and economic atmosphere of the time. This background also allows the investigation to extrapolate relevant details that can be connected to the condition of the Tamil Brahmin community in these regions. Finally, interviews with a very knowledgeable source, a senior migrant Tamil Brahmin, and a descendant of one of the first Brahmin families to settle down in the Kalpatti village on the Palghat river, help this investigation gain valuable insights that are important for substantiating conclusions based on secondary sources.

III. Vasco Da Gama's impact on the Malabar coast

One of the major causes for the development of Kerala's trade ports, and for the occurrence of the Tamil Brahmin migration to Kerala was Vasco da Gama's adventurous visit to the port city of Calicut. The first Vasco Da Gama voyage that created the major economic revitalization in the Malabar Coast of Kerala was in 1497. "The epoch making voyage of Vasco da Gama, destined to place Portugal in the forefront of the maritime and trading powers for most part of XV and XVI centuries, commenced on 8 July, 1497 (Madan: 25)." Portugal had not only the intention of setting sail its vast maritime fleet; it was also looking to develop trade routes especially to ports as far away as India. With a full armada

consisting of four ships, Vasco da Gama had specially prepared a fleet designed to tackle the rough waters around the Cape of Storms, later known as the Cape of Good Hope (Madan: 26). The plan for passing through the rough waters of the Cape of Good Hope also demonstrated Vasco da Gama's intention of eventually entering the Indian Ocean and coming to India after passing the Cape of Good Hope.

In the early 15th century, Calicut was already an important port for the spice trade and this received a shot in the arm with coming of the foreign traders, thereby increasing the demand for merchants and other important tradesmen in the Kerala coast (Panikkar: 421). Similarly, many Tamil Brahmins were also called from the Tamil territory to bring in textiles to the ports of Kerala for trade. (Menon: 120-121) Kerala did not have any textile industries like those in the town of Madurai in Tamil Nadu. Indeed, many enterprising Tamil Brahmins who were textile merchants from Madurai region were drawn to the ports of Kerala to sell their wares (Narayanamurthy). The Zamorin of Kerala who was equally willing to participate in this trade partnership with Vasco da Gama welcomed him into his court warmly, and "provided all facilities to [the Portuguese]" in Calicut (Panikkar: 421). Ultimately, this vital pact between Vasco da Gama and the Zamorin, during Vasco da Gama's first visit proved fruitful for trade and particularly for traders coming from Tamil Nadu.

Even though the second voyage of Vasco da Gama brought about the destruction of the port city of Calicut, the trend of trade and economic growth of the Kerala region was not hampered. Vasco da Gama returned to the Kerala coast with a renewed vigor. In the words of Frank Debenham, a noted historian, "Vasco da Gama's second journey was one of plunder and destruction rather than one of exploration (Madan: 75)." The explorer was unhappy with the Zamorin's blunt response to the gifts he had offered at the end of his first voyage (Madan: 53). Thus, the city of Calicut was attacked and severely damaged on the 3rd of November, 1503 (Madan, p.86). Several skirmishes continued between

the Zamorin of Calicut and the Portuguese, but Calicut's prosperity was sustained with the arrival of other naval powers such as the Dutch, the French and the English (Calicut Press Club). Relations with the Zamorin diminished, however Vasco da Gama was quick to renew the trade links between the Malabar Coast and Portugal, thus maintaining the economic growth of the region. Moreover, the end of the Zamorin supremacy and the entrance of the Portuguese authority did not hurt anybody in the Hindu community of Calicut. In fact, several Hindus and Brahmins among them were appointed to Government positions (Panikkar: 421). As stated by the author of the book on Vasco da Gama's travels, "[Vasco da Gama's] reprieve lay only in strengthening the friendship with the ruler of Cochin if Portugal were to retain a foothold to carry on trade in Malabar." (Madan: 87) Thus, new cordial relationships were developed with the Maharaja of Cochin. (Madan: 87) Soon afterwards, the Queen of Quilon and the once bitter Kolattari ruler of Cannanor offered trade partnerships with the Portuguese, requesting for various deals to be discussed (Madan: 88).

Consequently, although Vasco da Gama's presence on the Kerala coast may have lead to certain conflicts, the lasting economic boon far out-weighed the upheavals. More importantly, the prospects that the Kerala coast offered attracted a lot of traders from Tamil Nadu. The tension that did arise over this time period was more of a political struggle between entities such as the Portuguese and the Zamorin over the governance and trade in the region. The Hindu community, on the other hand, seemed insulated and was never under any form of persecution or pressure. In a specific reference to the Tamil Brahmin community, one book states that there were textiles brought across from the Tamil country to be traded at the port cities with the Portuguese (Menon: 120).

IV. Kerala's offering of Relative Peace and Security

Another major advantage for the Tamil Brahmins of moving to Kerala was that the Kerala rulers had established a continuous and relatively stable rule over their respective territories. In fact, particular attention was paid towards the migrating Tamil Brahmin community by the ruling kings and their feudatories. There is a very significant piece of evidence provided by Thunchath Ezuthacan, a very famous and revered, Malayalam poet. He stated in one of the verses from his work titled, *Gurumatt*, that land was gifted by him to members of the Tamil Brahmin community sometime during the early 16th century (Aiyer) . The implication here is that the elite and learned communities of Kerala welcomed the 'paradesi' (foreigner) Brahmin warmly and gifted plots of land and even villages to them. Brahmins with similar origins lived together in the same villages. The professions that the Vedic-qualified Brahmins took ranged from being priests and teachers to court poets, astrologers, astronomers, military officials, cooks and writers (Datta: xiv).

Kerala also considered the Brahmin community to be of high status. In fact, when the Zamorin of Calicut had tried to attract Vasco da Gama to renew his lost trade links with the Portuguese, he specially sent a migrant Brahmin to convey the message. "The fact that a Brahmin had been deputed by Samurini verily lent sanctity to the offer of truce and created a deep impression on the Portuguese. Even Vasco da Gama was inclined not to trifle with it, much less scorn at it, as he would have been in the ordinary course. Tome Lopes too, on noticing the uncommon visitor observed that the Brahmin were sacerdotess of the Indians and were held in very high regards (Madan: 89)."

Similarly, a lot of the reasons for the movement cited in the 'Kerala iyers' website provide evidence of such wide-spread patronage under the rule of the Kerala kings. It talks of a Dutch Priest named Wisser talking of Tamil Brahmins being helped in the business efforts, given free food and exempted from customs duty. Another example is one of the Pallakad king providing free food and

shelter to Tamil Brahmins who were suffering from a famine in Tamil Nadu, after the collapse of the Vijayanagar kingdom. There are also folk tales and stories of particular individuals who were called to the court of the Zamorin as scholars or as administrators (keralaiyers).

A research paper on an edict in a Palghat temple provides an example of a primary source that records the importance of the Kerala kings in providing facilities for the Tamil Brahmin community. Believed to have been constructed in the 15th century, the inscription in the Vishwanatha Swami temple talks of the land, income and precious metal and utensils that were granted to the community on behalf of the Raja of Palghat (Venkateswara). Translated from the Malayalam written inscription, it states that, “The interest of 132 panam (money) accruing to the 1320 panam given to the [1]32 (Brahman) houses, and the gold and silver and copper utensils belonging to the temple – all these are given to the temple as a sacred gift (Venkateswara).” The paper further suggests that the original number of settlers were in a “Samuham” or group of 240 Brahmin households, giving a fairly accurate number of the first settlers in the Palakkad region (Venkateswara).

A remarkable aspect of Kerala society at that time was the diverse atmosphere it offered in trade. According to Ibn Battuta, a Middle Eastern traveler, people from “all quarters of the globe” came to trade at Calicut. Although Hindus ruled the region, they proclaimed free practice of religion and allowed the Muslim community to dominate the region’s commerce and politics. (Panikkar: 418) This impartiality and liberalism in dealing with various traders had made the Zamorin one of the most powerful leaders in the Malabar, and Calicut its largest trading port. This sense of unity in diversity could have been partly responsible for motivating the Tamil Brahmins to move to the Malabar in Kerala.

V. The Imminent Downfall of Vijayanagar – Insecurity in the Tamil country

A major cause of the movement could have also been the crumbling Vijayanagar Kingdom of the Deccan, exposing the independent, provinces of the South to the invading Muslims from the North. The golden reign of the revered king of Vijayanagar, Deva Raya II, had ended in 1450 (Stein: 72).

During Deva Raya II's rule, various travelers had recorded the prosperity of Vijayanagar. It was considered the most powerful state in the south when North India was in turmoil (Nehru: 195). According to the Abdul Razzak, a Central Asian traveler, "The city (is) was such that the eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth (Nehru: 195)." Ibn Batuta, a famous traveler from the Middle East recorded his astonishment at the power and beauty of the city of Vijayanagar in the 14th century under the rule of the Deva Rayas (Panikkar: 417). More importantly, Vijayanagar, a Hindu kingdom, geographically shielded the small, weak districts of Tami Nadu from the Muslim invaders of the North.

However, Vijayanagar of the late 15th and early 16th century, at the time of the Tamil Brahmin migration, was crumbling, creating widespread fear in the weak, scattered, former Pandya and Pallava kingdoms of South. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was all that lay between the vulnerable southern kingdoms and the invading Muslims from the north. With the support of the Gajapathi King of Orissa, the Bahmini Sultanate of Delhi continued to attack the Northern frontier of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Anarchy prevailed over the kingdom (Majumder: 295) and the poor state of the kingdom could have caused severe cutbacks in economic activity, possibly leading to the famine reported in the keraliyers.com website. Although the connection between these two can be disputed, it is clear that there was insecurity in the southern kingdoms that could have led to some form of industrial recession and loss in revenue and the resultant sense of insecurity among the people.

In 1509, Krishna Deva Raya had ascended to the throne in Vijayanagar, bringing about new political changes, and stabilizing the region, reinforcing it against the Bahminis and Gajapathis of the North. In fact this helped support the agricultural zones of Vijayanagar in the Tamil country. “These were under the stewardship of Saluva Narasimha Nayaka from 1510 to 1531. This Tamil Brahman enjoyed great titles, responsibilities, and privileges during the time of Krishnadevaraya (Stein: 50).”

Krishna Deva Raya’s role in power definitely brought about resurgence in the empire during the mid 16th century that was cited with particular examples of Tamil Brahmins such as Narasimha Nayaka. However, not only was this period slightly after the early 16th century, a period of anarchy in Vijayanagar and prosperity in the Malabar, in 1565, when Krishna Deva Raya died, his successors were not able to sustain the stability of the kingdom (Stein, p.71). The city was ransacked by the Bahmini king, Muhammad Bin-Tughlak; he also forcibly converted its leaders Harihara and Bukka to Islam (Majumder: 307-309).



(Maps and Chronology) – http://www.215.pair.com/sacoins/public_html/maps_chronology.htm

The map above demonstrates how the position of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the Deccan once protected the Tamil districts such as Tanjore and Madurai from the kingdoms in the North. The port cities of Calicut, Cochin and Quilon were autonomous regions of the south west.

Therefore, the fall of Vijayanagar also proves to be another important historical event that could have caused turmoil in the southern kingdoms, triggering the Tamil Brahmin migration to Kerala during the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Ultimately, the Bahminis had succeeded in destroying the once powerful kingdom of Vijayanagar and the patronage enjoyed by Tamil Brahmins under Krishna Deva Raya could not be sustained. Although Krishna Deva Raya succeeded in temporarily restoring order in

the 16th century, the city was finally destroyed and the Tamil Brahmins were left without any support.

Thus, the move to Kerala could have proved to be a solution. Kerala's prosperity with the advent of the Portuguese fleet carrying Vasco da Gama and the relative harmony between the diverse ethnicities outweighed the insecurity and stagnant economy in the Tamil country. Although there were minor disputes between various groups in Kerala, especially amongst the Portuguese, the Arabs and the Zamorin, none of them concerned the Tamil Brahmins. These were merely internal political struggles where the Tamil Brahmin community had no particular role to play.

VI. Insights from Interview (reference to Appendix A)

The interview with Mr. Kalpathi Visvanatha Narayanamurthy was to help validate this hypothesis using a primary source. He is a member of the Tamil Brahmin community and his family has been amongst the initial migrants to Palghat (alternatively spelt as 'Palakkad') following the profession of royal astrologers until the last century. His name Kalpathi is homage to the name of the village in Kalpathi to where his family migrated, while the name Viswanath is in respect to the first temple that was constructed in Palghat. He has also done dedicated research particularly on the origins of the community and its migration from Tamil Nadu to Kerala.

The main piece of information provided was that the Tamil Brahmins, although considered as the learned priest caste, had large sections of their community which consisted of merchants in textiles and trade, owners and managers of land, and aristocratic Government officers. And so a large section of the community had significant economic gains in moving to the lucrative markets of Kerala. Tamil Brahmins were even seen carrying textile wares on their heads as they moved from the textile mills of Madurai in Tamil Nadu to the port cities of Kerala. Since Kerala had no textile industry, this particular good was in great demand for trade with foreign parties.

Another major benefit that accrued was the hospitality and positions offered by the prosperous kingdoms of Kerala. The large revenue gathered through the taxes levied on the trade was used for the smoothing of the settling down process for the arriving migrants. The Perumals, the last of the Tamil rulers in the Kerala region and other magnanimous districts of the Kerala such as the Zamorins provided land grants to arriving Brahmins from Tamil Nadu. They even extended their generosity to initiate agrapharams (Brahmin streets) and government sponsored eating halls, offering free food to any Brahmin migrant from the neighboring state.

Also, the Government sponsored and offered grants to the priests and those in education to start temples and institutions, which were the bulk of the Tamil Brahmins in the areas such as Pallakad and Venad. As substantiated by Mr. Narayanamurti, many of the old temples of Pallakad were made using government grants.

With reference to the significant number of Tamil Brahmin settlements in the villages of Palghat district, Mr. Narayanamurti emphasizes the fact that these villages were started from nothing. Most of the houses in the villages were allotted equal space for construction and even today maintain their original design. The inhabitants are mostly astrologers, priests and other workers who were concerned with the temple. The tradesmen, particularly those in the service sector, such as scribes, money lenders, and merchants passed through from Palghat or other passes along the Western Ghats to travel to the port cities of Trichur, Calicut and Cochin. Altogether, over 5000 families emigrated to Palghat from Tamil Nadu, Mr. Narayanamurti says that this particular population has remained relatively static as the village has not been extended any more and members of the community are moving away from Palghat to other parts of India and the world in modern times.

VIII. Conclusion – Ramifications of Findings

Thus, the migration of the Tamil Brahmin from Tamil Nadu to Kerala, during the early movements of the late 15th and early 16th century, appears to be because of several factors such as the economic success of Kerala, the onset of Portuguese trade, patronage of the Kerala kings and the relative instability in the other south Indian kingdoms. Although there were minor disputes in Kerala as well, political struggles, these did not hamper any development of trade between the Malabar Coast and Europe. Ultimately, Kerala appeared to be in a much more stable situation than the rest of the country, especially South India. While Vijayanagar was not able to protect the Tamil Brahmins against persistent Bahmini assaults from the North, various kings of Kerala offered several grants for establishing eating halls, temples and support for trade purposes.

Although this conclusion mainly relies on secondary sources with a few references to the Tamil Brahmin community, an interview with a member of the community seems to reveal that these historical events were some of the major factors in motivating the Tamil Brahmin community. As stated in the interview, the community was not inclined to fight back the Bahmini threat. It was looking for a safer and conducive place, especially where they could escape from the insecurity of living that threatened Tamil Nadu after the fall of the Vijayanagar kingdom.

The reasons for migrating emerge strongly as a search for better economic prospects and a safer, and more peaceful life. Interestingly, these factors continue to be strong pulls in taking the Tamil Brahmin diaspora to far flung lands in Europe and North America even today (Iyer Biography). As Mr. Narayanamurti states, “the migration has not ended. It is a continuous phenomenon. Today, members of the Tamil Brahmin community are moving to other parts of the India and the world for higher education and better work opportunities.” Even today, economic and other such benefits of migration have shaped the legacy of the Tamil Brahmins, their history to be repeated. From this point on, a sociological or

anthropological study could help establish the reasons for the impulsive, never ending, movement of the Tamil Brahmin community.

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Appendix A: Interview with Mr. Narayanamurti

1. During which period or era did your ancestors come to Kerala?

I have heard from my father who himself heard from his father, that the Josier Clan (specialist astrologers and astronomers) came to Kerala during the 15-16th century.

2. What was the route taken for this migration? What were some of the other possibilities?

I have not been able to come with some specific detail on this point, but they could have come through the Palghat Walayar Pass on the Western Ghats or the Pollachi-Palghat pathway, which was then not a road. My reason for identifying these is that the Kalpathy group of villages is in between the two paths. The river flows through the village

3. What was the trade of your ancestors?

They were specialist astrologers/astronomers, who had an adorable status in the Brahmin society. They have been learned authors on these subjects amongst my ancestors.

4. How can you establish that your ancestors were among the first to move into the region?

Once I claim that the Kalpathy group of villages could have been the obvious first, settlement site for these migrants, I understand that my village, selected by my ancestors and the two adjoining villages in the region, are most strategically preferred because of the proximity to the bank of the river, and the civilization of this community has been built around the river.

5. What were the prime motivations of the people in your ancestor's trade?

The prime motivation was to serve society by making the benefits of our learning available to the community for their religious and other pursuits. When people go on travel, build a house, hold a function, for casting horoscopes, these astrologers were needed. In that sense, we were agents of social change.

6. Why could they not simply stay in Tamil Nadu?

Firstly, Tamil Nadu was reeling under the pressure of protecting itself from the Muslim invasion of the North. There was also a fear of people being forcibly converted into Islam. Another important point is that the Tamil Brahmin community was not prepared to take up arms against the Muslims and fight in a war.

7. How were other traders in the Tamil Brahmin community relevant to the economic boom in Kerala?

Not only were Tamil Brahmins invited into Kerala as priests, there were also several textile workers that were called for. Kerala did not have any textile industry. Material had to be brought from the mills of Madurai. Merchants were often seen carrying these goods on their head, on their way to Kerala.

8. How did the benefits of this migration compare with the negative aspects?

I have not been able to see any negative aspect of the migration. If anything it helped to enrich the already civilized Kerala society. It also provided the much needed intellectual and commercial support to the trading opportunities that arose along the Malabar Coast, due to the visits from traders such as the Dutch, French, Portuguese and Arabs. I have not been able to come across any specific reason prompting this migration, but the evidence collected by me in conversations with knowledgeable people has helped me to infer that religious persecution was surely not a cause for the migration. I believe it could have been motivated by the fact that the new land offered them better commercial opportunities of sustenance and livelihood, without their having to sacrifice any of their comforts. They were not losing anything from this migration.

9. What were some of the qualities of the settlements in Kerala, such as Palghat?

First of all, it is important to note that the villages such as Palghat were nothing before the entrance of the Tamil Brahmins. Today, these villages still have the same structures as those from the early migrations. Each house has an equal area and the settlements were expanded outwards from the Kalpathy River. Over two to three years, the full town of Palghat was established, consisting of 96 villages, and roughly 5000 families. That population has remained relatively static as no new settlements were created. The Tamil Brahmins simply moved from Palghat to other cities in Kerala or other parts of India and the world for more opportunities. The traders and people of the service sector, such as educated scribes, intellectuals and merchants, who had come in the initial migration, merely used Palghat as a stepping stone before traveling on to the bustling cities of Calicut and Cochin.

Appendix B (Pallakad Map) <http://www.palakkadtourism.org/map.php>

